1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 512 and then the churning is continued till the milk separates into a solid part, which I shall speak of as 'butter,' and a liquid, which I shall call 'buttermilk.' It must be remembered, however, that these do not correspond to the butter and buttermilk of a European dairy. The milk coagulates before the cream has risen in any quantity, and there is no skimming. The 'butter' consists of both the fat and casein of the milk, while the 'buttermilk' ought perhaps rather to be called 'whey.'

In order to avoid this ambiguity in the use of the words 'butter' and 'buttermilk,' it might have seemed desirable to use the Toda terms for these products; but I have not done so, partly in order to avoid the too frequent use of Toda words, partly because the names are not constant among the Todas themselves, different terms being used in different dairies.

When the churning is finished, the butter and buttermilk are put into their appropriate vessels, and the dairyman goes out to milk the buffaloes, using for this purpose a bamboo milking-vessel, into which he has put some buttermilk from the previous churning. The newly drawn milk is poured into the earthenware vessels, in which it stands till the afternoon. By this time the milk will have become solid, and is churned as in the morning.

The 'butter' is used chiefly in the form of ghi, or clarified butter, for which the Toda name is *nei*. The butter is clarified by keeping it over the fire after the addition of grain or rice. The latter sinks to the bottom of the vessel, while the *nei* consists of the liquefied fat of the milk. The *nei* or ghi is partly used by the Todas, but is largely sold at the bazaar. The deposit of grain or rice is called *al*, and is one of the chief Toda foods. It is, no doubt, mixed with part of the proteid constituents of the milk precipitated during the process of clarification.

234 415 The milking-vessel is of bamboo, and several of the small vessels used in the dairy procedure are also made from bamboo of various sizes. The vessels into which the milk is poured and in which it is churned are of earthenware, and the vessels in which the butter and buttermilk are kept are also

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FIG. 15.—DD (26) CHURNING.

234 of this kind. The earthenware vessels used in the ordinary
415 dairy-work are made by the Kotas.
177 The names of the different dairy vessels vary according to the dairy in which they are used, and these, together with a complete list of the dairy vessels and implements, will be reserved till later.

234 The method of churning is shown in Fig. 15. The churning
412 is always done within the hut or dairy, but in order to obtain
415 a photograph of the process a staff was put in the ground outside a hut, so that the figure shows exactly the method used within the hut or dairy. The upright staff is called *palmän*, or 'milk-tree'; the two rings by means of which the churning-stick is fastened to the *palmän* are called *palkati*, or 'milk-ties.' The cord by which the churning-stick, or *madth* is revolved is called *kudinan* or *palv*.

234 The general plan of the dairy operations appears to be
171 much the same as that practised elsewhere in India. There are, however, two special features of the Toda procedure which, so far as I know, are not in general use elsewhere. One of these is the addition of buttermilk from a previous churning. This addition probably hastens the process of coagulation, and has a material use, but in the hands of the Todas it has become of great ceremonial importance, and forms the basis of some of the most interesting features of the dairy ritual.

The other special feature which does not seem to be generally found in India is the addition of grain or rice when clarifying the butter. Unlike the addition of buttermilk, this has no ceremonial value, and is chiefly important in providing the Todas with one of their favourite foods.

The Care of the Ordinary Buffaloes

234 The ordinary buffaloes, or *putiir*, of a village are looked after
463 and milked by the males of the village; by those who in Toda terminology are *perol*, or ordinary men, as compared with those who have been ordained to one of the sacred dairy offices.

234 When the people rise in the morning, the buffaloes are

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three rooms, the inner and outer rooms being separated by a third, called the *nedrkursh*. Each of the five villages at which these dairies are found is the funeral-place for males of the clan to which the village belongs, and the body of a dead man is placed in the outer room of the dairy at each place during the funeral ceremonies. 234 343 621

At Nòdrs and Tedshteiri (villages of the Nòdrs clan) it is said that there were at one time dairies each of which had seven rooms. The ruins of these, which were of the grade called *kudrpali*, are still to be seen.

Sometimes the same building serves for two dairies, especially at the less important villages of a clan. In these cases the building resembles that kind of hut which is called *merkalars*, one compartment of the hut opening at the side. At the villages at which I found dairies of this kind, the front part of the hut was a *kudrpali* and the part with the door at the side was a *wursuli*. In these cases each dairy has only one room.

In every dairy which has more than one room, the dairy vessels are kept in the inner room and the actual dairy operations are performed by the dairyman in this room. He only is allowed to go into the inner room, while other men may go into the outer room and, in those cases in which there are three rooms, into the middle room.

When a village dairy has two or more rooms, the outer room first entered from the outside is often used as a sleeping-place and in this case usually has two of the couches called *tïïu*, one on each side with a fireplace between them. That on the right-hand side as one enters is called the *meitïïn* (*meiltïïn*), or high (superior) bed, and that on the left-hand side is the *kitïïn*, or low (inferior) bed. 234 343 352

In the outer room is kept the *kepun* or *kaipun* (hand vessel), used to hold the water with which the dairyman washes his hands. The *masth*, or axe used for cutting firewood, and the *tek* or *tekh*, a basket used to bring rice or grain into the dairy, are also kept in this room. [415]

The fireplace between the two sleeping-places is usually made of four stones and is called *kudrvars*. At the *wursuli* it is made of three stones and is called *wäskal*. [354]

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234 343 352 412 415

The room of the dairy which contains the dairy vessels is divided into three parts: the *patatmar*, the *ertatmar*, and the *kalkani*.

The *patatmar* takes its name from the *patat*, an earthenware vessel into which the milk is poured from the milking vessel and in which it is churned. The vessels kept in this part of the inner room, which are known collectively as *patatpur*, are those which are actually used in the milking and churning.

The *ertatmar* takes its name from the *ertat*, a bamboo vessel used to carry buttermilk or butter out of the dairy. The *ertat* and the vessels kept with it, known collectively as the *ertatpur*, are those which receive the products of the churning or are used to convey these products out of the dairy. The lamp and the fire-sticks used for making fire by friction are also kept in this part of the dairy.

In the third part of the room, called the *kalkani*, are kept leaves, firewood, knives, and various sticks or wands. According to some accounts, the vessel called *penpariv* is also kept here.

When the dairy vessels are taken into a new dairy (see Chap. VI.), they are placed on ferns. I do not know whether they always rest on a bed of ferns or whether the ferns are only used when the vessels are first placed in the dairy.

234 412 415

The following is a list of the *patatpur*, the vessels and other objects which are kept in the part of the dairy called *patatmar*:

Patat or *tat*. Earthenware vessels into which the freshly drawn milk is poured and in which it is churned (Fig. 18, F). There are several of these vessels, one of which may be used to hold water.

Irkartpun or *patatpun*. The bamboo milking-vessel (Fig. 18, I).

Parskadrvenmu or *parskadrpenmu*, *i.e.*, milk churn butter *mu* (Fig. 18, H). This is also sometimes called *kazkmu*, and is a small earthenware vessel in which is kept the butter (*pen*) which is added while churning. Except when the churning is in progress, it is used as a cover for the *patat*.

Adimu. An earthenware vessel (Fig. 18, K) into which

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FIG. 18.—THE CHIEF DAIRY VESSELS.

A. The *palmiu*.
B. The *pallwti*.
C. The *madth*.
D. A *tudzkh*.
E. The *ortaipun*.
F. The *patat*.
G. The *pâlmachak*.
H. The *parshadvennun*.
I. The *irkuripun*.
K. The *adimu*.

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234 412 415

some of the coagulated milk may be poured while churning. It may also be used to fetch water from the dairy stream.

Madth or *parskartmadth.* Churning-stick (Fig. 18, C).

Palkati. Bamboo rings for holding the churning-stick while churning.

Parskurs or *ularwurthkurs.* Stick or wand used chiefly for driving off calves while milking.

Tatkich. The cut-up ends of a churning-stick, used for cleaning the *patat.*

Tedshk. Rings made of rattan (Fig. 18, D), used in carrying the dairy vessels.

The garment of the dairyman, called *tuni,* is also kept here. and when there is a *mani* (bell), it is kept on the *patatmar.* The churning-stick is kept on a stand called *agar.*

The following are the objects kept on the *ertatmar*:

Majpariv. Vessel in which buttermilk is kept.

Penpariv. Vessel in which butter is kept. (According to some, this vessel is kept in the part called *kalkani.*)

Ertatpun. Vessel used to take buttermilk or butter out of the dairy (Fig. 18, E).

Majertkudriki. A small earthenware pot used like a ladle to take buttermilk out of the *majpariv.* It is also called *ashkiok.*

Pòlmachok. A bamboo vessel (Fig. 18, G) used to hold the buttermilk which is distributed to the people of the village.

Nirsi. The fire-sticks for making fire by friction.

Pelk. The lamp.

Tòratthadi. Cooking vessel which may be used for anything except barley.

Put, a stirring-stick.

When there is only one room, the *masth,* axe for cutting firewood, may be kept on the *ertatmar*; otherwise it is kept in the outer room.

The vessels and other objects of the *patatmar* are those which come directly into contact with the milk of the buffaloes or which may at any time come into contact with the buffaloes themselves.

The vessels and objects of the *ertatmar,* on the other hand, are those which contain the dairy products which are going

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out to ordinary people (*perol*), or which come into contact with food or other materials obtained from ordinary people. 234 412 415

The things of the *patatmar* are always kept apart from those of the *ertatmar*. When the buffaloes migrate from one grazing-place to another, the things of the *patatmar* are carried by one man and those of the *ertatmar* by another.

In connexion with many dairies there is a house in which calves are kept, the *kwotars*, and a place for very young calves, called *kush* or *kudsh*, which is sometimes partly formed by the spreading roots of a tree. 234 343 417

I am in some doubt as to whether the buffaloes belonging to a village dairy ever have a special *tu* in which they are enclosed for the night. In general, however, there is no doubt that the sacred buffaloes of the dairy occupy the same pen as the ordinary buffaloes. Similarly I am not clear whether the dairy always has its own *irkarmus*, or milking-place, or whether ordinary and sacred buffaloes are not often milked at the same spot, the dairyman recognising the buffaloes committed to his charge and milking them only.

Every dairy has its own place from which water is drawn the *pali nipa*. This may be a different stream from that used for household purposes, but is, perhaps, most commonly part of the same stream, the higher part being used for dairy purposes. When a village has more than one dairy, each dairy has its own place for drawing water, usually different parts of the same stream. 234 312 621

The foregoing account holds good of all kinds of village dairy. The different grades of village dairy present differences in the daily procedure, in the qualifications and rules of conduct of the dairyman, and in other respects. I will begin with the *tarvali* of the Tartharol.

THE TARVALI

This is the name applied to the lowest grade of Tarthar dairy and may mean "the ordinary dairy," the first syllable being probably the same as in the word "Tarthar." 234 463

The *tarvali* is always of the ordinary form and is never called *poh*. The dairyman, *or tarvalikaranmokh*, is often 618 621

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343 352 *ertatmar*. The following sketch of the arrangement was made by Kòdrner, but I do not feel confident of its accuracy.

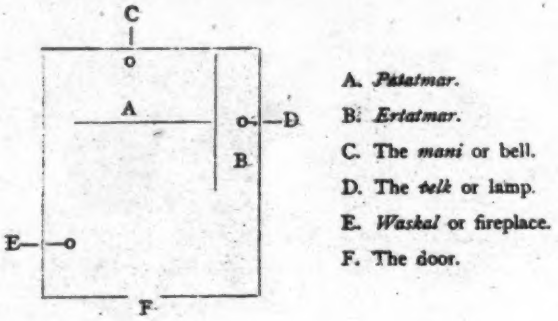

FIG. 22.

354 The lamp is of iron, bought in the bazaar: it is called *tudrkpelk* or *tagarspelk*, according as it is hung by a hook or on a chain. This distinction probably holds for other village dairies.

THE DAILY LIFE OF THE WURSOL

234 512 788 The dairy work of the *wursol* is carried out on the same general lines as that of the *palikartmokh*, but the order and method of the various operations are more strictly regulated. Before the *wursol* goes into the dairy in the morning he washes his hands with water from the vessel called *kepun*,[1] bows down at the threshold and enters the dairy; salutes the *mani* (*kaimukhti*), goes to the *ertatmar* and touches the *majpariv*; then to the *patatmar* and touches the *patat*. Then, after lighting the fire, he takes the *mu* off the *patat*, and, if the milk has coagulated, he begins to churn. After churning for a little while he puts some of the coagulated milk on the *mani*. After the churning is over, he milks, putting some of the first milk on the bell.

234 272 415 After the milking is finished, buttermilk is distributed to the women, and a mixture of milk and buttermilk is given to the men, who come to drink it standing outside the dairy. The *wursol* then drinks buttermilk and eats. When taking

[1] Probably a corruption of *kaipun*, hand vessel.

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234 buttermilk he pours it from the vessel called *ertatpun* into the
272 leaf[1] from which he drinks. When he goes to attend to the
292 buffaloes, he leaves the *tuni* in the dairy and puts on his
415 *putkuli* in a special way which is only adopted by the *wursol*
788 and only by him when engaged in looking after the buffaloes. Placing one end of the cloak over the left shoulder, he brings the other end under the right arm, and, taking this end in his right hand, throws it round the back of his neck so that it

FIG. 23.—THE 'WURSOL' OF KARS, KERNPISI (56), STANDING BY THE SIDE OF HIS DAIRY.

rests on the left shoulder. The result of this adjustment is that the front part of his body is uncovered as shown in Fig. 23. I could not ascertain why the *wursol* should wear his cloak in this special way, nor why this method of wearing the garment should be peculiar to his office.[2]

[1] This is done by folding a leaf in such a way that it forms a cup.

[2] The method of wearing the cloak adopted by the *wursol* is not unlike that shown in a picture at the Guimet Museum in Paris, which represents a Brahman engaged in prayer.

There is a legend that the original buffaloes of this herd

173 were sent from Amnòdr[1] by the god On to the people of Taradr.
234 A long time after they came to Taradr the herd was on the
462 point of dying out, only one cow buffalo remaining, which
773 was so old that it had lost its teeth. This sole survivor was pregnant, and when about to calve the delivery was much delayed, and it seemed that the buffalo would die before the calf was born. Only women were present and they cut open the belly of the buffalo and took out the calf, which was tended very carefully and lived, and the existing *kugvalir* are descended from this calf.

This story preserves a tradition of the practice of women attending to the buffaloes at the time of calving, which is said to have been at one time the regular practice.

292 The *kugvalikartmokh* sleeps in the *kwotars* or calf-house,
513 except at Taradr, at which place he sleeps in the outer room
784 of his dairy. He is allowed to sleep in the ordinary hut on
793 certain nights in the week, and may only have intercourse with Tarthar women.

834 He wears the grey garment, or *tuni*, which he ties round his waist when churning and wears over his shoulders when milking.

234 The work of the dairy is carried out on the same general
788 lines as that already described, but with certain distinguishing features.

All the work is done *kabkaditi*; the dairyman never turns his back to the contents of the dairy. In those villages in which he sleeps in the calf-house he goes naked (except for the *kuvn*) to the *kugvali*, washes his hands, prostrates himself at the threshold, enters, and puts on his *tuni* which is kept on the *patatmar*. He salutes the *mani*, which he feeds with curd and milk as in other dairies. He also knocks on the *patat* three times, saying "*On*" each time.

234 As in the other village dairies, he only prays and lights the
415 lamp in the evening. When he gives out buttermilk, he
788 must use the vessel called *pòlmachok*. He drinks buttermilk (*peputi*) in a distinctly more ceremonial manner than in the ordinary dairy, sitting on the seat (*kwottün*) outside the dairy, and pouring from the *ertatpun* into a leaf-cup made of two

[1] The world of the dead.

1 [The Kugvalir -- Analyst]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

leaves of the kind called *kakuders*. He drinks three times only, raising the leaves to his forehead and saying "*Oñ*" each time.

In this more definite ceremonial when drinking buttermilk, we have a transition to the ritual of the *ti*, and this resemblance to the procedure of the *ti* is still more marked in the following features. In addition to the *kugvalir*, the *kugvalikartmokh* has certain ordinary buffaloes, *putiir*, to provide milk for his personal use, and these buffaloes are milked in a special vessel called *kuvun* (*kupun*). This vessel is also used to transfer butter and buttermilk from the *patatmar* to the *ertatmar*, *i.e.*, buttermilk is not poured directly from the *patatpun* into the *majpariv*, but poured from the former into the *kuvun* and from this into the *majpariv*, and similarly the butter is transferred from *patatpun* to *penpariv* by means of the same vessel.

The Dairy of Kanòdrs

Another dairy-temple which occupies an exceptional position is the *poh* at Kanòdrs. This is a dairy of the conical form, shown in Fig. 25, which differs from that of Nòdrs in being surrounded by two walls (*katu*), both of which are shown in the photograph.

According to one account the people of Kanòdrs borrowed *martir* from Kars to be milked at this dairy, but at the present time, when the dairy is occupied, the cattle milked are those called *nashperthir*.

The dairyman at this *poh* is called *pohkartpol* and must be a Kanòdrs man. During my visit, the dairy was not occupied and the office of *pohkartpol* was vacant. At the present time a dairyman is appointed about once a year and holds office for thirty or forty days only. So far as I could ascertain, the failure to occupy the dairy constantly is due to the very considerable hardships and restrictions which have to be endured by the holder of the office of dairyman, and the time is probably not far distant when this dairy, one of the most sacred among the Todas, will cease altogether to be used.

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234 343 352 things of the outer room are sometimes called the *alugpur*, just as those in the village dairy are called *ertatpur*, but I did not hear of any corresponding term for the things of the inner room. I have no record of the place where the fire-sticks (*nirsi*) are kept, but they will almost certainly belong to the outer room, since, in the village, they belong to the *ertatmar*.

234 412 The nature of each of the vessels and other objects of the dairy is as follows:

415 *Persin.* This is an earthenware vessel containing about five *kudi*, *i.e.*, 2½ gallons. The freshly churned milk is poured into and churned in three of these vessels. The *persin* corresponds to the *patat* of the village dairy.

Tòrzum. This is an earthenware vessel containing two or three *kudi*. Two of these vessels are kept in the inner room, one, called the *karitòrzum*, to hold water, and the other to hold the butter added while churning. The latter is called the *peptòrzum* because it is also used to give butter-milk to the buffaloes on certain occasions. When not in use the two *tòrzum* are placed on and act as covers for two of the *persin*. The *tòrzum* corresponds to the *mu* of the ordinary dairy.

Kòghlag. This is the churning-stick which corresponds to the *madth*. Both *kòghlag* and *madth* are alike in having the peculiar shape shown in Fig. 18 (see also p. 111). The thong by means of which the stick is turned, ordinarily called *palv*, is here called *poinurs*, and consists of a strip of the skin of a male calf. The *kòghlag* is made by the *palol* from bamboo growing on the Nilgiris. In addition to two used and kept in the inner room, five or six new churning-sticks are kept in the outer room.

Persinkudriki. This is a small piece of bamboo with a handle called *tutth*, used to knock against the *persin* when praying.

Pohvet (*pokpet*). A wand used when praying.

K'woi. A bamboo vessel containing about three *kudi*. It is the vessel taken out by the *palol* to milk the buffaloes. It corresponds to the *irkartpun* of the village dairy and is made by the *palol* from bamboo obtained by the *kaltmokh*.

1 [The Poh.. Analyst]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 412 *Kwoinörtpet.* A wand carried by the *palol* with the *kwoi* and used to keep away the calves when milking.

● 415 *Tedshk.* Rattan rings used when carrying the dairy vessels.

Idrkwoi. A bamboo vessel containing about one *kudi.* It is used to transfer butter and buttermilk from the vessels of the inner room to the vessels of the outer room, and is kept midway between the two rooms. There is nothing corresponding to it in the village dairy, except at the *kugvali*, where the *kuvun* is used in the same way.

Alug. Earthenware vessels used as receptacles for buttermilk and butter in the outer room. There are at least two of these vessels, usually more. This vessel corresponds to the *pariv* of the village dairy.

Uppun. A bamboo vessel which is used to hold the buttermilk which the *palol* drinks.

Mòrkudriki. A vessel used like a ladle to transfer buttermilk from the *alug* to the *uppun* or the *mòrpun.* It corresponds to the *majertkudriki* or *ashkiok* of the ordinary dairy.

Karpun. A bamboo vessel used to milk the *punir*, or ordinary buffaloes of the *ti* herds.

Turavali. The cooking-pot of which the ordinary name is *tòratthadi.*

Guduboi. An earthenware pot to hold *nei* or ghi. Its ordinary name is *pathrs.*

The *mòrpun*, kept in the sleeping-hut, is a bamboo vessel used by the *kaltmokh* to hold buttermilk both for himself and for certain privileged visitors called *mòrol.*

177 415 437 The earthenware vessels of the inner room are not obtained from the Kotas, like the ordinary vessels, but are made by Hindus, and are procured through the Badagas.

234 292 The *palol* has two garments, one of which, the *kubuntuni*, he wears when not engaged in dairy-work, while the other, the *pòdrshtuni*, is worn during the dairy-work or other ceremonial. The latter is kept in the outer room when not in use.

234 778 There are usually two kinds of bell at the *ti*, one kind connected with the more sacred buffaloes and another belonging to the *punir.* The bells of the first kind, called *mani*, are

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184 234 618 554 the Kars and the Pan *ti* the people of Kars are *mòrol*, but they may only visit the *ti* and take buttermilk and are not allowed to sleep there, nor have they any of the special ceremonial duties of the Melgarsol.

234 463 554 [358] When the dairy of a *ti mad* needs to be repaired or rebuilt, this is done by Melgars men, who must previously undergo an ordination ceremony of the same character as that for the office of *wursol*, and the men rank as *wursol* while engaged in the work. The hut of the *ti mad* is also repaired or rebuilt by the Melgarsol, but in this case the work is done without any special ceremony. In either case the Melgars men are not allowed to leave the *ti mad*, and they sleep in the living hut while the work is being done.

[764] Another duty of the Melgarsol is to assist in carrying the corpse of a *palol* who has died in office.

[123] On the occasion of the *teutütusthchi* ceremony in 1902, when the *palol* and *kaltmokh* left the dairy at Mòdr for several hours, I found a Melgars man in the neighbourhood of the dairy, and it seemed to me that he was watching the dairy while the regular guardians were away. I was told however, that this was not one of the recognised duties of a *mòrol*, and I suspected that he was stationed at Mòdr at the time of my visit, because it was feared that I might take advantage of the absence of the *palol* to make a closer inspection of the dairy than was allowed.

New Dairy Vessels

● 415 437 439 The earthenware vessels of the inner room (*persin* and *tòrzum*) are procured from Hindus through the Badagas. They were formerly obtained from a place called Kulpet (Kundapeta), near Nanjankudi in Mysore, and I was told that the Todas used to go down to fetch them.

The earthenware vessels of the outer room (*alug*) are obtained from the Kotas like those of the ordinary dairy.

234 The churn or *kòghlag* is made by the Todas themselves from the slender bamboo growing on the hills.

314 322 415 The material out of which the bamboo vessels (*kwoi*, *idrkwoi*, *karpun*, *uppun*) are made, is procured from a place

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

called Ebenput (?) near Musinigudi. When new vessels are required, and there is only one *kaltmokh*, a second is appointed, who goes to Ebenput, where he cuts bamboo called *kôli*, which is large enough for the dairy vessels. The bamboo is taken by the *kaltmokh* to the *ti*, and the new vessels are manufactured by the *palol*.

234 314 322 415 793

It is possible for the *kaltmokh* to go to Ebenput and back in one day, but if unable to do this he may stay the night at Taradr, the nearest *etudmad* to Musinigudi. The bamboo for the new vessels, however, must not be taken to Taradr, but must be left in a wood near the village, and taken on to the *ti mad* on the following day.

Any new vessels or implements must be purified before being used. The earthenware vessels of the inner room are taken from the Badagas who bring them, and are rubbed over, inside and out, with the bark of the *tudr* tree, after which the bark is put inside the vessel, water is poured in three times, saying "*Oñ*," and the contents rinsed round and poured out. Water is then put in the vessel, which is placed for a time on the fireplace to make it look old, the fireplace used being the *pelkkatitthwaskal*. The *kòghlag* or churning stick is purified by rubbing *tudr* bark over it and pouring water all over it three times. The churning stick and the earthenware vessels of the inner room are both purified in the outer room of the dairy, and the purification must be performed on a Sunday.

234 412 415 783

The *kwoi* is purified on the same day of the week in front of the buffalo enclosure or *tu*. After churning, the *palol* takes the new *kwoi*, and a *tòrzum* full of water, and purifies the former with *tudr* bark and water three times in the way already described. He then milks into the new *kwoi* for the first time, and on this occasion he must be careful not to fill the vessel completely.

The *ídrkwoi* is purified in the same manner as the other vessels and also on a Sunday, but the purification is performed at the junction of the inner and outer rooms of the dairy.

New vessels and other objects belonging to the outer room are purified with the same procedure in their own room, but on a Tuesday or Wednesday.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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The *kwoi* or milking vessel is the only vessel which is not purified inside the dairy. With the exception of this vessel all the other objects used in the dairy are purified in the outer room or at the junction of the inner and outer rooms.

All old, broken or worn-out vessels or implements are thrown away except the *kwoi*, which must be buried in a wood near a dairy. Thus this vessel is treated unlike other contents of the dairy, both when being purified and when rejected as of no further use. I could obtain no explanation of this, and can only suggest that the exceptional treatment is due to the fact that it comes into actual contact with the sacred buffaloes.

The Five Ti

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At present there are only five *ti* in existence, belonging to the clans of Nòdrs, Kars, Pan, Ḳwòdroni, and Nidrsi. The Keradrol are said to have had a *ti* at one time which was spirited away by the god Kwoto (see Chap. IX) and the name of one of its places, Tlkirs, is still preserved.

The most important *ti* belongs to Nòdrs and this is one of the original institutions, the *ti* of Kars and that of Kwòdrdoni being the others. The Pan *ti* is derived from that of Nòdrs (see story of Kwoten), and the Nidrsi *ti* is an offshoot of the Kwòdrdoni institution.

Of these five *ti*, that of Nòdrs is the only one which still has two *palol*. The Kars *ti* has only one *palol*, and similarly that of Pan. The *ti* of Kwòdrdoni and Nidrsi are at present unoccupied. At the Kwòdrdoni *ti* the office is filled once a year for a limited period in order to satisfy certain requirements of the Kotas.

No *ti* is allowed to be vacant when the final funeral ceremonies are performed for any member of the clan to which the *ti* belongs, and it is only on the occasion of these ceremonies that a *palol* is now appointed to the Nidrsi *ti*.

Each *ti* has certain features of organisation and procedure peculiar to itself. There are certain differences of ritual and differences in the names and kinds of the buffaloes and sacred objects. The history and special features of each *ti* will now be considered.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

THE NÒDRS TI

The goddess Teikirzi lived at Nòdrs and was its ruler, and Nòdrs was in consequence especially favoured when the various buffaloes were distributed by this deity. When Püv died and Ön went away to Amnòdr (see p. 185), the Nòdrs *ti* and its buffaloes went with him. Teikirzi, who remained behind, found after a time that it was not good to rule a country without a *ti*, so she complained to Ön and asked him to send the buffaloes back. He consented and people were sent from Nòdrs to Amnòdr to fetch the buffaloes. Ön gave them the buffaloes and all the things of the *ti*, and he also gave a milking vessel and a churning stick made of gold. When the men started to bring back the buffaloes, they went some way and then found that they had forgotten the gold vessel and churn given to them by Ön. So they went back and asked Ön for the two things. Ön refused to give them up as they had not been taken at first, and it is believed that they are still in the dairy at Amnòdr.

Ön told the men who returned to ask for the things they had forgotten that the Todas were to make the vessel and churn of bamboo. They were to go to the hill called Teikhars or Kulinkars, where they would find a flower called *kavulpuv*, and he told them to make a new *kòghlag* of the same shape as that flower. They did so, and ever since that time the churning-stick both at the *ti* and at the ordinary village has been made so that it is like the flower *kavulpuv*.

Another incident which occurred during the journey of the *ti* buffaloes back from Amnòdr was the birth of a *mani*. One of the two *palol* was carrying the dairy vessels of the inner room, and the other was carrying the *mani* called Keu. When they were about half-way back to this world, the *palol* who was carrying the dairy vessels found that they had become very heavy, so he put them down, and, taking off the *thrzum* which was covering one of the *persin*, he found a bell in the milk of the *persin*. So they called the bell Persin because it was the son of a *persin*, and to this day the bell is fed with milk because it was born in milk. It is the *mani* which is kept in the *ti pòh* of the Nòdrs *ti*, while the other

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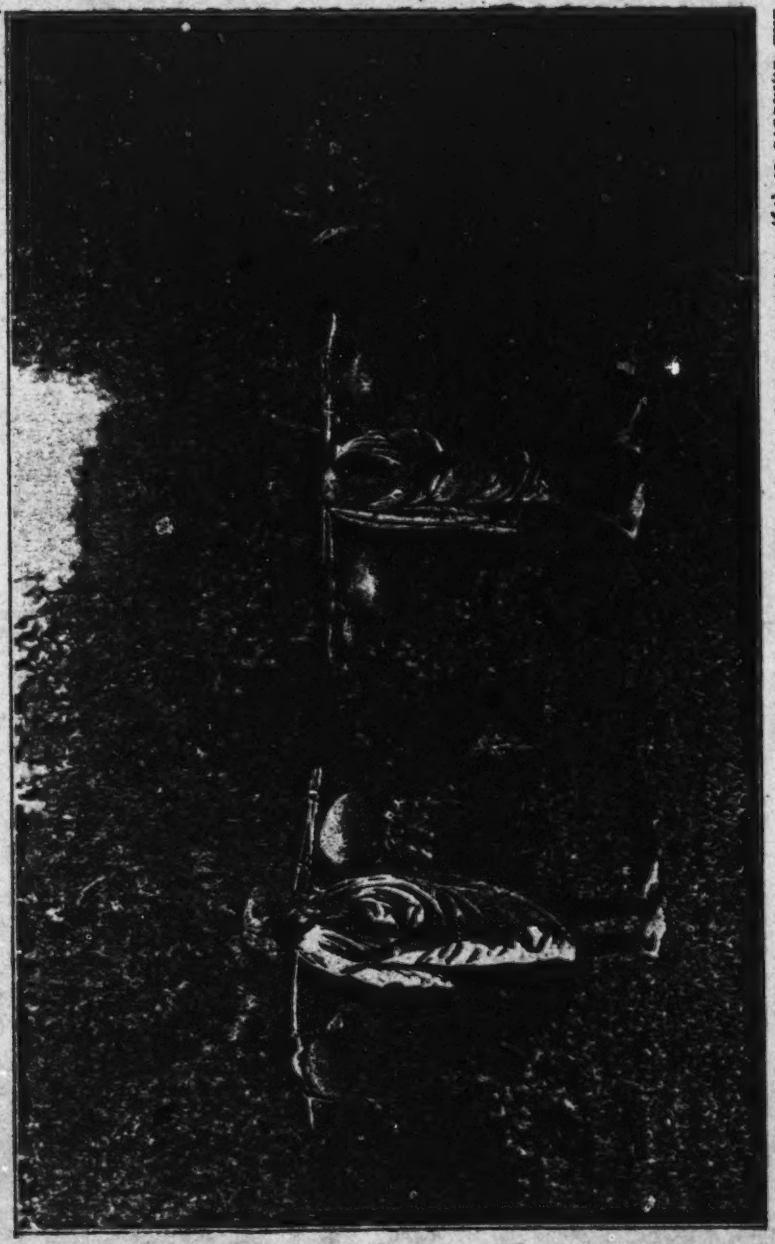

FIG. 89.—TO SHOW THE METHOD OF CARRYING THE CONTENTS OF THE DAIRY. THE BOY KALMAD (64) IS CARRYING THE 'PATATPUR,' KARÖLN (15) THE 'RETATPUR.' IN FRONT OF KALMAD IS THE ENTRANCE OF THE PEN AT KARS CALLED 'ALTHÖTU' (see p. 649).

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 221 796 the *palikartmokh* abstains from food. He does the ordinary work of his dairy, and gives out buttermilk and butter to the women as usual. He then calls to the chosen men who have come to the village, and they stand outside the door of the dairy. The *palikartmokh* comes out, holding in his right hand the milking-vessel (*irkartpun*) and churning-stick (*madth*). He stands facing the sun, and salutes holding the vessel and churn to his forehead, and says "*ekirzam meidjam*," the *kwarzam* of Teikirzi and Tirshti. Then all present pray, [415 482] using the prayer of the dairy. The *palikartmokh* puts the milking-vessel and the churning-stick at the back of the dairy (the *palimerkal*), and then brings the other dairy things, carrying out those of the *patatmar* first and then those of the *ertatmar*. Two stout sticks are prepared, each called *pütusht*, and the various objects of the *patatmar* are fastened on one stick and those of the *ertatmar* on the other, in the way shown in Figs. 29 and 30.[1] When the things have been fastened on the sticks, all go to the front of the huts of the village and take food, after which the procession starts. It is headed by the buffaloes, followed by the dairyman and the men carrying the dairy vessels. Each of the latter carries the staff on his left shoulder and has the right arm out of the mantle. The man carrying the things of the *patatmar* walks in front of the man carrying those of the *ertatmar*, as shown in the figures. After the buffaloes, the dairyman, and the dairy vessels, there follow any men who are accompanying the procession, and if all the inhabitants of the village are migrating, the women and children follow the men.

[562] On leaving the village the women and girls may have to go for a certain distance by a different path from that taken by the buffaloes, but during the greater part of the journey there does not seem to be any regulation to prevent the women following in the wake of the sacred animals.

On reaching the new village, the *palikartmokh* purifies

[1] The vessels used for the purposes of these photographs were not the real vessels of the dairy, but those of the house. The method of fastening the earthenware vessels does not correspond to that described for the *ti* dairy, and I am doubtful whether the method of fastening for real dairy vessels would not have corresponded to the procedure of the *ti* rather than to that shown in the figures.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca.1901-02)1906 Toda

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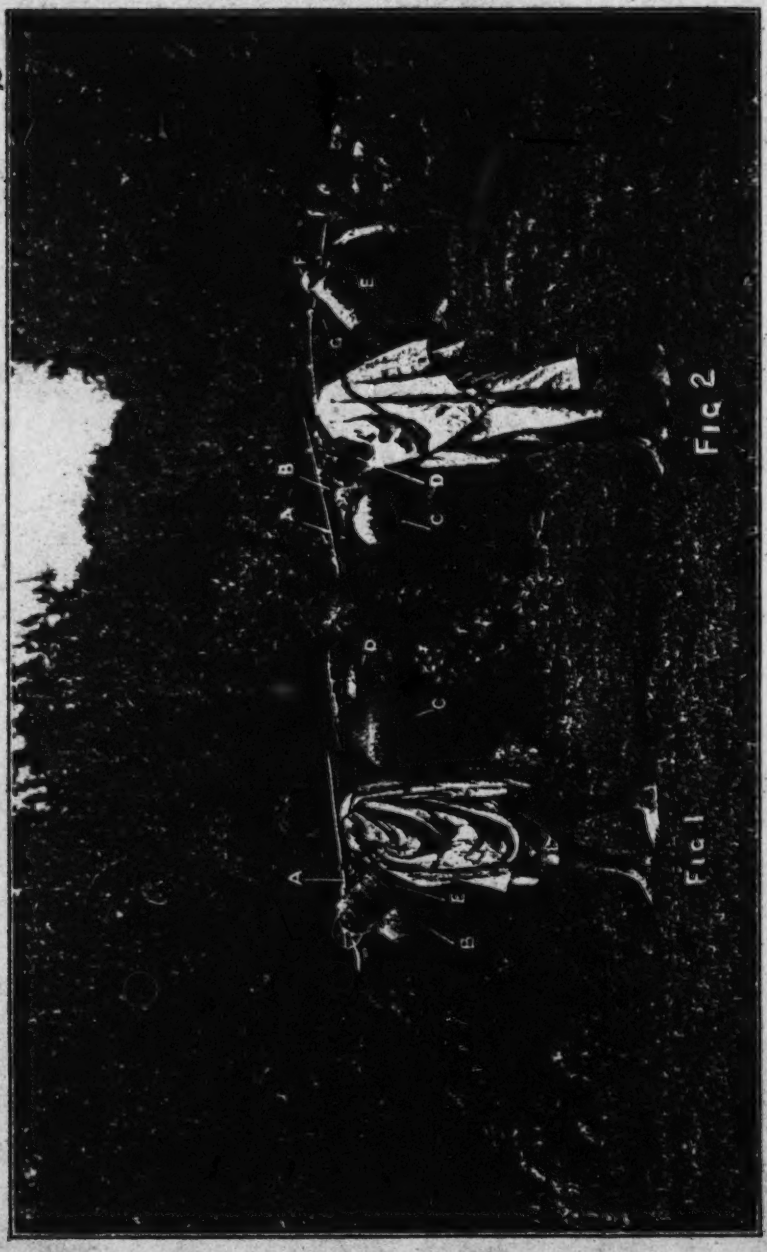

FIG. 30.—1. A. The *mattli*. B. A *patai*. C. Another *patai*. D. The *parthaivannu*. E. The *tharaiyam*.
2. A. The axe. B. The fire-sticks. C. The *nasiparis*. D. The *pilmachak*. E. The *ertalpun*. F. A *tak*. G. The lamp.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

less important things from the dairy. Badagas may also accompany the procession. [177]

The day of the migration is called *irnödrthnol*, and on the morning of this day the churning is done as usual, and sufficient milk is drawn to provide as much as can be safely carried in one of the *persin* without spilling it. All who take part in the procession must go without food on the morning of this day, and the *palol* does not take buttermilk as usual. The various objects which are to be taken with the buffaloes are brought out of the dairy and laid by a stone called the *pepkusthkars*, which in some places, and possibly everywhere, is in or near the wall of the *tu*. 234x 221 796

The dairy vessels are carried according to well-defined rules. The things of the inner room and the intermediate objects, the lamp and the *idrkwoi*, are carried by the *palol*. The *mòrol* carries some of the things of the outer room and one of the horns. The two *kaltmokh* carry the other things of the outer room, the other horns and their own possessions. 234x 284 415 482 796

The dairy vessels, &c., are carried by each man on a staff cut from the *mòrs* tree, the staff being called *pepkati* (the *pütusht* of the village migration). Each of the *persin* and *alug* is fixed on the staff by placing it on a roll of *kakhudri*, called a *tedshk*, round which six pieces of the string called *twadrinar* are tied. The six strings are passed round the vessel and fastened to the staff. The *palol* fastens on the three *persin* in such a way that when the staff is on his shoulder two of the vessels will be in front of him and the other behind his back, one of the vessels in front containing milk. The *tòrzum* are placed on the top of the *persin* as when they are in the dairy, and the *persinkudriki* is carried in the *peptòrzum*. The *kwoi* is fastened on in front, and the *kòghlag* and wands are placed along the staff. The lamp is put inside the *idrkwoi* and the latter tied to the end of the stick, so that it is behind the back of the *palol* when being carried. Care is taken that an interval is left between the *idrkwoi* and the other things; even when being carried from one dairy to another the objects intermediate between those of the inner and those of the outer room are kept separate from and not allowed to touch the more sacred vessels of the inner room. The staff with its

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

burdens is carried by the *palol* on his left shoulder in the same way as is shown in Fig. 29, illustrating the method of carrying the things of the village dairy.

The *mani* is carried by the *palol* on his right side. A staff of *kiaz* wood is cut, about five cubits (*mogoi*) in length, which must be perfectly straight with a fork at one end. The bell is covered completely with *kiaz* leaves tied with rattan fastenings, and put on the fork of the staff by its ring. The staff is carried upright in the right hand of the *palol*; if he becomes tired he may rest it on his shoulder, but this must be done in such a way that the forked end of the stick carrying the bell comes in front of his body, otherwise the *palol* would be presenting his back to the sacred object.

At the Nòdrs *ti* there is an exception to the ordinary rule in the case of the *mani* of the *tiir*. It will be remembered that this bell is reputed to have been born in a *persin* during the migration from Amnòdr, and the bell is therefore carried in one of the *persin* during the migration from one dairy to another. In its place the *palol* of the *tiir* carries in his right hand the churning stick with its churning end upwards.

The *mani* is the only object of the inner room which is covered with leaves, so that it may not be exposed to the vulgar gaze. The lamp is also hidden from view within the *idrkwoi*, but I do not know whether this is for the same reason or merely because it is a convenient way of carrying it.

The *mòrol* carries the large earthenware vessels of the outer room (*alug*), which are at least four in number. They are tied on a staff by means of *tedshk* in the same manner as are the *persin*. This is done by the *kaltmokh*, who puts the staff and its burden on the left shoulder of the *mòrol*, taking particular care that the vessels do not touch the man. The *mòrol* carries one of the horns in his right hand.

Before the procession starts each *mani* is hung on the neck of a calf, left on for a minute or so, taken off and put on its staff. The *mani* of the *tiir* called Persin is put on the neck of a two-year-old calf of the *unir*, and that of the *warsir*, Keu, is put on the neck of one of the *perithir*.

If any dairy vessels or implements are not taken with the buffaloes, they are not left in the dairy, but hidden in a wood.

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The procession then starts with the *mòrol* at its head. In some cases a halt is made when passing certain places, and prayer is offered by the *palol*. In going from Mòdr to Anto the procession stops first at Pòrstib near Tedshteiri village (belonging to the Nòdrsol), where the *wars palol* puts the staff carrying the *mani* on a stone and prays while touching the staff with his hands. The next halt is made at Ponvtüt, where the buffaloes separate from the *palol* and follow a slightly different route, and here the *wars palol* again prays. The procession halts for a third time at a place called Teirpül, near Anto, but this time it is the *ti palol* who prays after having placed the churning stick and bell on a stone.

On its way to Anto the procession passes near the village of Kîudr. When the buffaloes are seen to be coming, the women leave the house and go to the outskirts of the village, taking with them the pounder, sieve and broom, and wait there while the procession is going by. All the people of Kiudr fast on this day till after the buffaloes have passed.

It was said that on this day the *palikartmokh* of Kiudr used to rub clarified butter on the stones called *neurzülnkars*, but there was some doubt about this, and if the custom ever existed it seems to have fallen into disuse.

According to some accounts, certain clauses especially referring to the migration of the *ti* buffaloes are used in the prayer of the Kiudr dairy (see Chap. X).

On reaching the outskirts of the new place, the Todas who have accompanied the procession go away. The staff carried by the *mòrol* is taken off by the *kaltmokh*, who is again very careful that the vessels do not touch their bearer. Although the *mòrol* is allowed to carry some of the less sacred vessels, care is taken throughout that the vessels shall not be contaminated by touching his body or his clothing.

All the dairy vessels are taken off and laid by a stone called the *perskars*, and then follows the ceremony of *poputi*. Each *palol* has carried with him some milk in one of the *persin*. Some of this is poured into the *peptòrzum*[1] and given to certain buffaloes, one of each kind belonging to the *ti*; thus, at the Nòdrs *ti*, the milk is given to five buffaloes, to three by one *palol*

[1] The vessel derives its name from this ceremony.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 221 796 415 and to two by the other. The milk may be given to buffaloes directly from the *tòrzum*, or it may be poured into the hands of the *palol* from which the appointed buffaloes drink.

The next business is the purification of the dairy, called *nòdrkorsi arspishpimi—i.e.*, we wash with *nòdrkorsi*. The *palol* goes to the dairy spring or *kwoinir* with the *karitòrzum*, carrying the *kwoinörtpet* under his left arm. He throws *tudr* bark into the spring, fills the *karitòrzum* and returns. He puts *tudr* bark into the *karitòrzum* and also into the *idrkwoi* and then pours the water from the *karitòrzum* into the *idrkwoi*, which he takes to the dairy and throws the water with his hands first over the dairy vessels and then well into the dairy itself so that it penetrates to the inner room. He throws the water first on the floor, then to the roof and to the sides, three times to each. Next he takes three sprigs of the plant ordinarily called *kabudri* (*Euphorbia Rothiana*), but at the *ti* called *nòdrkorsi* and ties it over the door of the dairy.

The dairy vessels, which have been untied and placed on the ground near the *perskars*, are then purified and put in their places. The *palol* first takes up the *peptòrzum* with the *persinkudriki* within it, the *kòghlag*, the *kwoi* and *kwoinörtpet*, all in the right hand, and carries them to the front of the dairy, where he repeats certain *kwarzam* of the prayer, then turns to the east and says the whole prayer of the dairy, salutes the dairy holding the four things to his forehead, enters, puts the things except the *kwoinörtpet* in their places, comes out with the *kwoinörtpet* under his left arm and without turning his back to the interior of the dairy, and shuts the door of the building. He then takes in the other vessels of the inner room, carrying the *kwoinörtpet* under his left arm and without repeating the prayer. One *persin* is taken in first, then the others, the *karitòrzum* and the *tedshk*. Then the *mani* is taken, being carried in the right hand and laid temporarily on the floor near the *persin*; when taking in the bell certain *kwarzam* are said.

234 796 The wand called *pokvet* is next taken in and laid in its place, and then the things intermediate between the inner and outer room—viz., the lamp, which is hung in its place, and

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from the rest by knocking their backs three times with the dung and stick. At the Kars *ti* two buffaloes are separated in this way; at the Nòdrs *ti* five buffaloes are set apart, one of each kind, three by the *ti palol*, and two by the *wars palol*. These buffaloes are known as *ponir*. The dairy is then purified with the dung and water. The *irpasthkakul* is laid on one side, and the *palol* puts salt in the basket called *ponmukeri*, and takes it with the water-vessel called *karpun* to the place where salt is to be given, taking also the remaining sprigs of *puthimul* and a bundle of fern.

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At the place for the ceremony there is a stone called *ponkars* (when there are two *palol* there will be two stones), and at the stone the *palol* makes a vessel of clay and water so as to resemble a milking-vessel. This clay vessel is called *teukwoi* (*teu*, god, and *kwoi*, milking-vessel).

The *palol* then takes two perfect *tudr* leaves, and fastens them together with the petioles of other leaves, so that they form a cup which is called *piivup*. Salt is placed in this leaf vessel, which is laid down by the side of the *teukwoi*. One such vessel is made for each buffalo, two at the Kars *ti* and five at the Nòdrs *ti*.

The *palol* then takes the stick called *kwarkul*, and with it makes a hole in the middle of each *teukwoi*, saying (at the Kars *ti*) "*antok teukwoi ârîj, paln!*" ("To Anto in *teukwoi* make hole, O *palol!*"). He then makes other holes round the sides of the clay vessel, saying the names of the other gods in the same manner. (At the Kars *ti* those which have already been given. At the Nòdrs *ti* the names of five gods are mentioned—Anto, Kulinkars, Nòtirzi, Kuladrvan, and Kuzkarv.) Two pieces of *tudr* bark and a sprig of *puthimul* are then placed in each hole, saying for the first, "*Antok teukwoi et, paln!*" ("To Anto in *teukwoi* put, O *palol!*"), and this is repeated with the name of a different god for each hole.

Next the *palol* takes the stick called *parkul*, which has a sharpened end, and makes small holes called *upunkudi* as in the *mòrup* ceremony. At the Kars *ti* only two *upunkudi* are made; at the Nòdrs *ti* one *palol* makes three and the other two holes. *Tudr* bark is thrown three times into the holes and into the water of the spring. Water is taken from the

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171 coagulate and the curd is churned. The butter so obtained
234 differs from that of European countries in containing the proteid as well as the fat constituents of milk. This butter is then clarified, but in this respect there is an important difference between the ordinary Hindu procedure and that of the Todas. The usual Hindu method is to heat slowly over
[262] a fire without the addition of any other substance. The Todas add grain or rice to the butter before clarification, and this sinks to the bottom of the vessel and forms a substance called by the Todas *al*, which is one of their chief foods. This deposit of grain or rice will carry down with it some, possibly all, of the proteid constituents, and the *al* will, therefore, be a nourishing food.

The only other detail in which the Toda procedure is peculiar[1] is in the addition of buttermilk from a previous churning to the newly-drawn milk, the buttermilk or *pep* being put into the vessel before milking. This addition probably hastens the process of coagulation, but its chief interest is derived from the fact that it has become the nucleus of some of the most interesting features of the dairy ceremonial.

234 This addition of buttermilk seems to be regarded as forming
445 a thread of continuity in the dairy ritual, and the ceremony of
778 *pepkaricha*, or making new *pep*, is held whenever this con-
788 tinuity is broken. The *pep* is connected with a dairy vessel of the kind called *mu*, which is buried in the buffalo pen, and if any evil befalls the *mu*, it is held to be a cause for making new *pep*—*i.e.*, the usual course of the dairy procedure will be interrupted, in some cases for months.

The buried dairy vessel seems to be linked in some mysterious way with the fortunes of the dairy, and especially with the buttermilk which forms the element of continuity in the dairy procedure. The buried dairy vessel, or *mu*, is not one which is now generally used to hold buttermilk. There are two kinds of *mu* in the dairy, one which contains the butter added during the churning, while the other is used,

[1] It is an Indian practice to add sour buttermilk to the milk to promote coagulation, but this is usually done after heating the milk. It is possible that in some parts of India it may be added to the milk before or immediately after it is drawn.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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partly as a receptacle for the milk which is about to be churned, and partly to fetch water from the stream. It is highly probable that there was at one time a third *mu* in the dairy, which was a receptacle for the buttermilk added before milking.

At the especially sacred dairy of Kanòdrs, where ancient procedure is likely to have lingered, the buried *mu* is still used as a receptacle for buttermilk. When this dairy is unoccupied, a certain amount of buttermilk is kept in the buried *mu*, and when the dairy is again occupied, this buttermilk is used to add to the milk. In this case the continuity of the dairy procedure is directly kept up by means of the buried vessel, and this procedure of the Kanòdrs dairy is strongly in favour of the view that the buried vessel was formerly a receptacle for the *pep*.

There are other indications that the *mu* is the most sacred of the dairy vessels. It is this vessel which is touched by the *wursol* the *kugvalikartmokh* of Taradr and the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs, as the final act which gives them their full status at the ordination ceremonies, and we shall see later that in the funeral ceremonies at Taradr a temporary building is made to represent a dairy by placing in its inner room a *mu*. In this last case, it would seem that the *mu* is regarded as the emblem of the dairy, and that placing a *mu* in the inner room of the temporary building makes it a dairy.

The representative of the *mu* at the *ti* dairy is the *peptòrzum*, but it does not seem that this vessel is specially distinguished from the rest, and it does not appear to have the sanctity and importance which attaches to this kind of vessel at the village dairy.

There seem to be two chief possibilities in explaining the existence of the buried *mu*. It may be that it was at one time the custom to bury the *pep* while the village was unoccupied, and that this custom now only persists at Kanòdrs, the *mu* at other places being no longer used for this purpose, though it has continued to be of ceremonial importance. The other possibility is that, as the *pep* acquired increased importance in the dairy ritual, the sanctity of the buttermilk was transferred to the vessel which contained it, and the

1: Rivers F-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 445 778 788 sanctity of the vessel became so great that it was not thought right to leave it exposed to the dangers it might incur in the dairy, especially in the various migrations, and it was therefore buried in the buffalo pen of the chief village of the clan. It is probable that the custom arose in the way suggested by the procedure of the Kanòdrs dairy, but that the full development of the custom has been largely due to the belief in its special sanctity.

261 788 The obscure observance of having a ball of food larger than can be eaten at one sitting occurs twice in the various dairy ceremonials. It is a feature of the ceremonies which the *kaltmokh* has to undergo on the day after the migration of the Nòdrs *ti* to Anto, and the superabundant portion of food has also to be eaten by the candidate for the office of *palol* in the preliminary ceremony called *tesherst*. In each case the food is of the ceremonial kind called *ashkkartpimi*. I can offer no suggestions as to the meaning of the observance, nor do I know of any parallel for it.

Purity and Impurity

234 783 The idea of ceremonial purity is one running through the whole of the dairy rites. Many of the details of the ritual, the purification of new vessels and of dairies revisited after a period of disuse, the ordination ceremonies of the dairyman, the elaborate ceremonies accompanying the making of new *pep*, all show a very deeply engrained idea that men and things have in themselves some degree of impurity, and that in order to be made fit for the service of the gods, they must be purified and sanctified by appropriate ceremonies.

As regards man two grades of impurity are recognised: (i.) the impurity of the ordinary man, which is perhaps an absence of ceremonial purity rather than actual impurity; and (ii.) the special impurity which is the result of certain events and especially of those accompanying birth and death.

The impurity of the ordinary man does not prevent him from visiting the dairies of the lower grade, but it prohibits him from taking any part whatever in the actual dairy operations. With certain exceptions, he is rigorously excluded

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Implements and Utensils

The most important objects in the economic life of the Todas are their dairy vessels, which have been already amply considered. Cooking vessels and implements used for cutting wood or for any other purpose are, like the vessels of the village dairy, procured chiefly from the Kotas, though at the present time the source of supply is probably supplemented by purchases in the bazaar.

As the Todas practise few arts, their need of implements is very small. At one time they used thorns as needles, but now steel needles have taken their place. Thorns are also used for tattooing. Leaves are used as plates and cups, and the fingers take the place of forks. The only definite implements used are knives and axes, the latter being especially needed for procuring firewood.

In some of their ceremonies, the Todas have preserved practices which may possibly be survivals of the use of stone implements. In the funeral ceremonies the buffaloes destined for the next world are killed with the back of an axe, but the buffaloes killed at the *koòtiti* ceremony and at the ceremony of purifying the funeral places must be killed with a stone. Further, the bark of the *tudr* tree used in so many ceremonies must always be knocked off the tree by means of a stone. The latter of these practices must certainly be very ancient, and may well be a relic of an age in which implements were made of stone.

The Pounder, Sieve, and Broom

The interest of these articles lies in the fact that they are evidently regarded as the emblems of woman. When the *wursol* sleeps in the village hut, these articles are removed from the hut, and when the *ti* buffaloes pass the village of Kiudr, the women who leave this village take with them the pounder, sieve, and broom.

In the case of the *wursol*, this sacred personage may associate with the women themselves if the three objects which seem to be emblematic of womanhood are removed.

They live in villages called *mands*[*] (*Plates* VIII., IX.), of which the following description is given in Dr. Shortt's work :—

" A *mand* or *mott* is the term used to designate a hamlet or village by the Toda tribe. Each mund or hamlet usually comprises about five buildings or huts, three " of which are used as dwellings, one as a dairy, and the other for sheltering the " calves at night. These huts or dwellings form a peculiar kind of oval pent-shaped " construction, usually 10 feet high, 18 feet long, and 9 feet broad. The entrance or " doorway into this building measures 32 inches in height and 18 in width, and is " not provided with any door or gate; but the entrance is closed by means of a solid " slab or plank of wood from 4 to 6 inches thick, and of sufficient dimensions to " entirely block up the entrance. This sliding door is inside the hut, and so " arranged and fixed on two stout stakes buried in the earth, and standing to the " height of 2½ to 3 feet, as to be easily moved to and fro. There are no other " openings or outlets of any kind, either for the escape of smoke or for the free ingress " and egress of atmospheric air. The doorway itself is of such small dimensions, that, " to effect an entrance, one has to go down on all fours, and even then much wriggling " is necessary before an entrance can be effected. The houses are neat in appearance, " and are built of bamboo closely laid together, fastened with rattan, and covered with " thatch, which renders them water-tight. Each building has an end walling before " and behind, composed of solid blocks of wood, and the sides are covered in by the " pent-roofing which slopes down to the ground. The front wall or planking contains " the entrance or doorway. The inside of a hut is from 8 to 15 feet square, and is " sufficiently high in the middle to admit of a tall man moving about with comfort. " On one side there is a raised platform or pial formed of clay, about 2 feet high, " and covered with sambre or buffaloe skins, or sometimes with a mat. This platform " is used as a sleeping place. On the opposite side is a fireplace and a slight elevation " on which the cooking utensils are placed. In this part of the building faggots of " firewood are seen piled up from floor to roof, and secured in their place by loops " of rattan. Here also the rice-pounder or pestle is fixed. The mortar is formed by " a hole dug in the ground 7 to 9 inches deep, and rendered hard by constant use. " The other household goods consist of 3 or 4 brass dishes or plates, several bamboo " measures, and sometimes a hatchet. In one hut I found an old table knife, two " empty beer bottles, and a broken goglet.

" Each hut or dwelling is surrounded by an enclosure or wall formed of loose " stones piled up 2 to 3 feet high, and includes a space or yard measuring 18 × 10 " feet."

The inhabitants of a mand are generally related to one another, and consider themselves one family. The family will possess one or two, sometimes three mands in different parts of the hills, to which they resort periodically for grazing their buffaloes. Each mand has its acknowledged pasture ground, which is not encroached upon by

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[*] Derived from *Manl*, Canarese for *House*, pronounced and commonly spelt *Mund*. The words *Mott* or *Mortt*, which so often appear in old records, seem also to be corruptions of *Manl*.

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285 445 No. V.—*Mekuri* (ಮೆಕುರಿ). Four baskets, of sizes, to hold grain, made by Todas and Kotas of bamboo and rattan. Annas 10.

322 445 No. VI.—*Pon* (ಪೊನ್ನು). Two milk vessels, of sizes, for milk and curds, made by Todas and Badagas from bamboo joints, with handle and binding of rattan. 8 annas.

No. VII.—*Wát* (ವಾಟೆ). Drinking vessel size of a pint, made by Todas and Badagas of small bamboos and bound with rattan. 1 anna.

000 No. VIII.—*Kuvvi*. Walking sticks, two of bamboo, two of jungle wood.

No. IX.—Four pairs of rings worn by Toda men and women. Rings made by Kotas. Rupees 4, 10 annas.

526 No. X.—Sticks and "*Cut*" used in the game *Ilátu*. *See* page 7. $\frac{1}{A}$ Made by Toda men. *Gratis.*

$\frac{1}{A}$ [Errata: See p. 10 -- Analyst]

000 No. XVI.—*Kyṭṭkudiṭṭṛi*. Tied round the elbow of a female corpse, and burnt with the body. Made by Toda women.

Ṭiṭṭṛi (ಟಿಟ್ಟ್ರಿ). The bag or lump at the end contains the flower and leaf of ° ?
6 pice.

145 No. XVII.—*Puṭ*. Cocoa-nut drinking vessel, used by women for milk and *tyr*. Made by Todas out of cocoa-nuts brought from the low country. *Ovatis*

000 No. XVIII.—*Ke*. Cloth tied round the waist of a female corpse, and burnt with the body. Cloth made by Badagas in Jakanâri in this district. The same villagers make the Pâlil's clothe (Tuvai). *See* page 16. Rupee 1.

301 No. XIX.—*Kaṭṭiriṭṭ* (ಕಟ್ಟಿರಿಟ್ಟ್). Silver earrings worn by women in each ear. Made by Kotas. Rupee 1.

No. XX.—*Kôḍal* (ಕೊಡ್ಗ್). Iron bracelets worn by women on the left wrist. Made by Kotas. 12 annas.

No. XXI.—*Kôdive* (ಕೊಡಿವೆ).—Two small iron rings worn by women on the first finger of the left hand; they usually wear two, sometimes four. Made by Kotas. *Ovatis*.

This was left blank, probably till the botanical name could be ascertained. I do not know what tree is referred to.—Ed.

45 No. XXIII.—*Thar'y* (ϕσX). Dish of bell metal made in the low country, used by Todas to eat out of. Four or five sizes will be found in each house. Rupees 3, 12 annas.

894 No. XXIII.—"*Pŏthruli.*" Same as No. I, but worn by women so as to hang down to the feet, and not thrown so much over the left shoulder. Rupees 2.

No. XXIV.—*Thary* (ϕΣ⊃). Waistcloth worn by women high up over the breasts. The female "*thary*" is larger than the man's "*thary.*" Procured from Seramage. 10 annas.

No. XXV.—*Shŏngŏr.* Necklace, made by Kotas. The chain of silver, the tassels of cowries. When worn, the tassels hang down behind. Rupees 3.

286 No. XXVI.—*Tiwaipŏdŏl* (⊃Σ⊃ϗ⊃). Purse made by Toda women. At funerals it is put into
764 the pouch of the *Pŏthruli* and burnt with the corpse. Made of coloured cotton thread. *Gratis.*

No. XXVII.—*Kŏpŏdŏm.* Ordinary purse worn by Todas. Made in the low country and bought by Todas from traders who came to the Hills. *Gratis.*

No. XXVIII.—*Pŏnŏdr* (⊃σϗ⊃). Made of black and white cotton by Toda women. Tied round the waist of the corpse and burnt at funerals. Ends done up with cowries. Sometimes eight or ten are burnt at one time. *Gratis.*

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412 No. XXXVIII.—Pat (ಪಟ್ಟಿ). Wooden implement, used in cooking to stir the rice. Made by Todas.

372 No. XXXIX.—Virak. Dry sticks which produce fire by friction. See page 13. Every mand has some of these sticks.

● 415 No. XL.—Chédi (ಚೆಡ್ಡಿ). Spoon of cocoa-nut, and bamboo handle. Made by Todas.

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342 and of sufficient dimensions to entirely block up the entrance. This sliding door is inside the hut, and so arranged and fixed on two stout stakes buried in the earth, and standing to the height of 2½ to 3 feet, as to be easily moved to and fro. There are no other openings or outlets of any kind, either for the escape of smoke, or for the free ingress and egress of atmospheric air. The doorway itself is of such small dimensions that, to effect an entrance, one has to go down on all fours, and even then much wriggling is necessary before an entrance is effected. The houses are neat in appearance, and are built of bamboos closely laid together, fastened with rattan, and covered with thatch, which renders them water-tight. Each building has an end walling before and behind, composed of solid blocks of wood, and the sides are covered in by the pent-roofing, which slopes down to the ground. The front wall or planking contains the entrance or doorway. The inside of a hut is from 8 to 15 feet square, and is sufficiently high in the middle to admit of a tall man moving about with comfort. On one side there is a raised platform or [352] pial formed of clay, about two feet high, and covered [825] with sambar (deer) or buffalo skins, or sometimes with a mat. This platform is used as a sleeping place. On [354] the opposite side is a fire place, and a slight elevation, on which the cooking utensils are placed. In this part [353] of the building, faggots of firewood are seen piled up from floor to roof, and secured in their place by loops of rattan. Here also the rice-pounder or pestle is fixed. [415] The mortar is formed by a hole dug in the ground, 7 to 9 inches deep, and hardened by constant use. The other household goods consist of three or four brass dishes or plates, several bamboo measures, and some- [412] times a hatchet. Each hut or dwelling is surrounded